1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

compelled all the people of the Hadhramaut to wear the black dress of the Abbasides.[1]

Hadhramaut remained loyal to the Abbasides to the year A.H. 263 (A.D. 877). During this time there had been about 53 Governors in the Hadhramaut. When the reign of the Abbasides came to an end, Hadhramaut became independent once again.[2]

2. Yemeni Domination.

We learn from Omārah[3] that the authority of Ibn Ziad, the Yemeni ruler who acquired the power and dignity formerly enjoyed by the Tubbas, extended to the provinces of Hadhramaut, ash Shihr, and Dīār Kinda. East of the Hadhramaut he was master of Merbat, and west, of Abyan, Lahej, and Aden, as well as the Red Sea coast as far as Hali. After the death of Muhammad ibn Ziad, his son 'Ibrahim and his grandson Ziyad followed. Ziyad was succeeded by his brother 'Abu'l Jeish Ishaq whose reign endured for a long time, according to Ibn Khaldun, until he had reached the age of eighty, though Omārah says he reigned eighty years over "Yemen, Hadhramaut and the maritime islands."

In A.H. 269 (A.D. 873) Muhammad ibn Ya'far succeeded to his father, and was invested by the Caliph al Mutamed, with the Government of San'ā. Hadhramaut was included in his dominions, " but he owed allegiance to the Ziyadites and paid them tributes."

The Ziyadite rule lasted a long time, and in A.H. 409 (A.D. 1018) their great Wazir, Ibn Salama, carried out one of his greatest public works. " Among the splendid works executed by Husayn ibn Salāmah must be reckoned the construction of great mosques and lofty minarets along the road from Hadhramaut to the city of Mecca (may God Most High guard it). The distance extends over sixty days' journey. He dug wells and channels with running water in solitary wildernesses, and he erected along the road constructions on which were indicated the distances in miles, in *parasangs*, and in stages. Some of these works I have seen, either in good order or in ruins, and of the remainder I have received descriptions from other persons, all agreeing with one another. The first stations were at Shibam and Tarim, two cities of Hadhramaut. (A foot-note adds, " Of Tarim, al-Hamdāni merely says that it was a

[1] The Beduins still wear the black of the Abbasides, though they think it was imposed upon them as a punishment. Unlike the townswomen who wear their dresses short in front and long behind, the women of the Beduins wear their dresses long all round, and it is thought that this too is a survival of the Abbasides.

[2] It is apparent that the Hadhramaut took hardly to Islam. After several vicissitudes the country shook down to orthodox Shafi'ism, but from the time of the Abbasides paid no more than lip service to the Caliphate. To-day, while there are mosques almost everywhere, one may suspect that the Beduins are more attached to their patron saints, whom they have adopted into Islam, than to orthodox worship. Laxity like this may have not a little to do with the bigotry of the conservative Seiyid party.

[3] See Kay's Omārah, pp. 5, 141-2, 234.

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Hurricane fighter and a mobile canteen for blitzed areas in England. The women of Mukalla have made bandages for the Red Cross in Egypt regularly since 1942.

That is a brief comparison between the Qu'aiti State in 1936 and in 1944: and progress has been made in other ways too. In case the picture seems too favourable, it should be remembered that the famine, due to the loss of over £600,000 a year in remittances from Singapore and Java, seven years' drought, the difficulty of getting food and its high price, the loss of 50 per cent of the working camels, and the difficulties of shipping, has had a very grave effect on the country, but has on the whole hit the interior rather than the coast. His Majesty's Government came to the rescue by voting over £300,000 for famine relief, and by providing air transport for grain, but in dealing with the progress of the Qu'aiti State it is right to record that the Government and the merchants have done their best, and the 1944 estimates included about three lakhs of rupees for famine relief, both by direct grants and by the provision of public works. A voluntary cess by merchants on their imports, the contribution by Government servants of 1 per cent of their salaries, and other charitable efforts raised a fair amount more; and soup kitchens, infirmaries and so on were provided at the coast for refugees from the interior.

Nature of the People and Country

Before describing the methods used in building up the Qu'aiti administration, something must be said about the nature of the people and their country to explain why unusual methods were required. The Hadhramaut is in many ways different from the rest of Arabia, from which it is for the most part separated by desert on all sides, but since it has a seaboard its people have always been able to find a living across the sea. They have had to do this because most of the 70,000 odd square miles of the country is irreclaimable desert and it is unlikely that it could ever support more than a quarter of the population. In other lands they have come to know Western rule but for the most part it has had few attractions for them. They generally find the trammels of an ordered life irksome, and throw them aside as happily as they drop their tarbushes and tussore suits for a waist cloth and indigo when they come back.

The nature of the country provides an explanation of the nature of the people. The vast and barren areas of mountain and jol have bred in the bedouin a deep sense of freedom and an unwillingness to yield it to anyone, for it is all he possesses. In the deep valleys of the hinterland the horizon is bounded by walls a thousand feet high and this has bred in the people an exclusiveness which it would be hard to find elsewhere. In the towns and villages of these valleys a most particular form of religion has grown up. There is none of the free brotherhood of Islam, but a system of classes of seiyids, of settled tribesmen with few of the virtues of the desert bedouin, of money-lending immigrant Yafa'i tribesmen from the west, of descendants of African slaves, of merchant townsmen, and of hard working

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

together. Kathiri economy is almost wholly dependent on funds remitted to Seiyun and Terim from extensive Far East business holdings of great Kathiri families like the House of al-Kaf. Over a century ago, branches of these families emigrated to Singapore and Java in search of happier livelihoods than those provided in their own infertile homeland. Today, vast blocks of property in metropolitan Singapore and Jakarta are held by scions of these early Hadhrami entrepreneurs. Estimated revenue from such holdings has been put at $2,500,000 yearly.[9]

East Indian influences are by no means solely fiscal. Malay is virtually the court language at Seiyun and certainly the common tongue among the educated classes. The routine dress of a Kathiri gentleman is a high-collared tunic reminiscent of the Indian *sherwani* and worn over a sarong.

The most casual survey of this unlikely country would be incomplete without mention of that extraordinary old patriarch, Seyyed Sir Bubakr al-Kaf, K. B. E., present head of the al-Kaf family. If a whole country can be said to live under the shadow of one man's private charities, the Kathiri State is it, with Sir Bubakr the personification of the seignioral patron. Though in his seventies, he is still the dominating personality of the Hadhramaut and his millions the source of much of its prosperity. In 1937, he built the first motorable road from Shihr, on the Hadhramaut coast inland to Terim, a distance of a hundred miles, thus providing convenient egress over a route previously negotiable only by camel and requiring many days travel time. Today, Aden Airways Ltd., operates a regular plane service between Aden Colony and Hauta, in Kathiri territory. In addition, Sir Bubakr is responsible for much of the state's urban electrification, many of its medical services, schools and, yes, even cinemas. It is in large measure due to his efforts that the Kathiri State of Hadhramaut stands today on the threshold of the twentieth century.

[9] W. H. Ingrams, *Report on the Social, Economic and Political Conditions in the Hadhramaut*. London: Colonial Office, 1936.

5x Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

But, of course, we do not force things down anybody's throat.

Colonel J. K. Tod: It is forty years ago since I spent some time in Aden. The lecturer said that the Mushraqis were rather darker than the western people. My recollection is that they were fair and aquiline compared with those further west.

You spoke about the shrines of ancient saints being very much revered. At the west of Dhala there was an object of great veneration.

My impression in those days was that the tribes of the Aden Protectorate were extremely democratic and had very little class distinction. The only distinguishing mark was in their dress. The ordinary tribesmen wore indigo-dyed clothes, giving them a very dirty appearance, because the dye always came off all over their bodies, and the better classes wore white with coloured head-dresses. They seem to have commanded the respect of the people, who showed it in a very peculiar way. A tribesman would come up to one of his sheikhs, who might be sitting on a rock, and by way of showing him respect he would catch him by the head and pull it down and kiss him on the head. It seemed to be the ordinary respectful greeting.

You mentioned the eastern confederacy, the Qataban. Is the present tribe the Quteibi? They were one of the confederacy under the Amir of Dhala. My recollection is that that is the only confederacy in the whole Protectorate. It was a very loose confederacy.

Mr. Hamilton: The Yafai people are western. They are not of the western Mushraqi type at all. The Yafais are a very fine lot. There are, I think, two battalions of Yafai soldiers in Hyderabad under the Nizam. They travel all over the world, but they will not let anyone else travel over *their* world. The Amir of Dhala is the chief of the confederation over which he rules, which does not actually include the Quteibis. A political mistake was made originally by trying to put the Quteibis under him. Now, when you put them under Lahej, they say they would rather be under Dhala, and *vice versa*. They have the greatest fun the whole time. Their idea of fun is to shoot and loot each other. When the R.A.F. drop a couple of bombs, usually well wide of their villages, they take the unexploded bomb at once, pick it up, carry it off, put it under a neighbour's house and set fire to it.

Kissing at the top of the head is most respectful, but, of course, there again in South Arabia you kiss the hem of the man's garment one minute and put a knife just where you have kissed the next. But they are extremely respectful, and the chiefs do carry with them the whole honour and self-respect of the tribe.

If in battle one of the chiefs is killed, it is very much regretted, and the whole tribe turns out to bury him. Also the son of a chief and his headmen of villages will indulge in the kiss on the thigh and knee, salutes accorded originally to patriarchs.

Mrs. Gregory: Is there any connection between the people from Baluchistan Makran and the Mushraqi?

Mr. Hamilton: I do not think there is any connection except that a few travellers come across from the Persian Gulf.

Dr. Hugh Scott (unable to be present) asked Major Hamilton (in writing) whether he considered the confederation of Ma'an to be the

T: Sturler-Raemaekers T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

It is the same type of building that has been carried to perfection in the towns. This brings us to the chief group of interest—the townsfolk.

The ancient cities usually lay on some small eminence in the centre of the main valley or up a side valley. They had defence walls round them and were probably manned by very well-organized garrisons. When the "middle ages" or "dark ages" of Arabia came upon this area with the decline of the land trade routes in the second century, these cities seem to have been abandoned as the empires broke up. The people who remained after this decline seem to have taken to living in eagles' nests and cliff-side towns built on the steep slopes of the valleys. They may be the forefathers of the town dwellers found today in the main valley of Hadhramaut and its tributaries of Wadi Do'an, Wadi bin Ali, and Wadi 'Idm.

People of the side valleys remained much closer to bedouin tradition than in the main valley, as in lovely Do'an, for instance—the narrow, riverless valley, its bed entirely covered with thick palm groves which are irrigated with water collected in pools and tanks from the yearly rains. They live simply, drinking the old bedouin drink of husk coffee with ginger and eating the plain millet cakes with a few dried herbs and vegetables (instead of tea and imported rice as is now done in the large towns). There are no natural resources here. Food, except dates and honey, is scarce. To earn a living the Do'anis go and trade abroad, mainly in East Africa. The women of the valley retain their picturesque costumes with heavy jewellery reminiscent of the bedouin silver. Their dresses are mostly of homespun black cotton (as also the men's coloured loin cloths), but for "best" they wear silver embroidered black velvet with gold and silver braid bodices.

Their cliff towns are a fair size and an amazing heaping-up of one building above the other. They are solid and well built of several storeys, on a long narrow plan parallel to the hillside in order not to dig too far into the mountain. Massive walls have small windows and corbelled cornices not found elsewhere in this area; they have a Gothic decorativeness that is pure instinct and a lovely rough, crumbling mud surface that fades into the mountainside because they are made of the same material as the mountain itself. Usually the houses are laid out in small apartments, a room with a lobby and a washroom to each; sometimes one, sometimes two to each floor. Both buildings and streets are narrow for lack of space.

But when we come to the great Wadi Hadhramaut the streets are wide and the buildings are much larger and more sophisticated. This Wadi has its underground river and innumerable wells. Luxury abounds. The people from the great valley towns—Shibam, Saiywun, Terim—made their fortunes in Singapore and Java, and here one comes to the most impressive buildings of Hadhramaut.

The great desert town of Shibam with its 500 houses is a town of merchants only. Contrary to all other towns its site is on an eminence in the centre of the valley, and I wonder whether it may not be an old Sabean site. The buildings on the outer rim of the town form a solid wall, five to six storeys high, and these are the houses of the great, where they get a maximum of air, light and view. Six storeys is the agreed maximum, so that no one shall overlook his neighbour. Only the ruler's castle, on

565 half for the men and one for the women, each with their entrance, kitchen,
342 store rooms and granary on the ground floor, reception rooms and wash-rooms on the first floor, and more private apartments with washrooms on the second floor. There may be a third floor with terrace rooms, but usually not more.

342 Although the span of the ceiling beams is quite small, as everywhere
353 else (about six feet, determined by the maximum size of timber available), many of the rooms in these houses are very large, being divided up by
565 two, four, six or nine pillars. They have rows of three or four windows, some even more, on two sides. The floors are covered with carpets, and cushions against the walls are the only form of furnishing. There will be niches with cups, silver samovars and brass trays; other niches with some books; and a few large flat basket-trays hung on the walls, from which one eats. But that is absolutely all that is needed. There are large wall closets for clothing and for bedding, the normal place to sleep being the floor. But there is no difference between a living-room and a sleeping apartment. Each room serves for either purpose in turn, the men and the women
• [291 being separate. Nor are there clothes for the night and clothes for the
515] day, though the men wear beautifully laundered clothes, frequently changed.

342 Washrooms consist of a spacious compartment, with glazed plaster
515 walls with niches and pegs for clothing. Near the window stands a tall jar with water and a scoop for showering oneself. The water runs out under the window through a runnel and gutter. Some washrooms have a shower tank. The washroom may contain a lavatory of the south continental, foot-rest type, or this may be in an entirely separate spacious compartment. Each floor has at least two. Besides this the Saywun and Terim house has a little " roman " bath for complete ablution about 10 feet square, and which is usually near the private prayer-room.

342 Another pleasant characteristic of the Saywun house is that in the large
271 corridor that runs from one side of the house to the other; in front of the window at the coolest end there is usually a corner for drinking-water skins to hang up in a cooling draught. Niches for cups are at hand, and again there is a runnel for the water dripping from the skin to run outside. The same arrangement is found on most terraces. Upper rooms are used in summer, lower rooms in winter for warmth, for there is no glass in the windows and only ill-fitting wood shutters to keep out the night air.

342 All these amenities will be found on a small scale in the most modest houses. The house of the dhobbi had three floors. It contained about four living-rooms, two washrooms, a kitchen and a store. So that where space is concerned the Hadhrami house does not compare unfavourably with European standards.

000 A film showing Hadhramaut buildings was followed by a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

B Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

312 of a broad, gently sloping bedrock drainage surface. The plateau abounds in suitable rock surfaces, and they serve as catchment areas for occasional cloudbursts. Walls, six to eight inches high, fashioned of closely packed but uncemented rock fragments and slabs, are

[291 411 362]

FIG. 21—Bedouins of Wadi Hajr. Note the attire and appearance: bare feet or sandals; short sarong; cartridge belt; curved dagger; long, black, glistening, oily hair; ever present musket. To the stocks of their antiquated guns, goat skulls are frequently attached, as these are thought to provide greater comfort than the original design.

laid out radially from the well so that surface drainage will converge on it from a wide area.

415 401 483 To transport water, Bedouins use bags of uncut goat skins, tied firmly at the leg and neck openings. For drawing well water, the skin is fashioned into a bucket and attached to a rope passing over a pulley in a crudely constructed scaffolding of palm logs lashed together with coconut-fiber cord. The bucket is raised and lowered by donkeys, cattle, or slaves, with the assistance of an appropriate harness. To augment the lifting power applied to each bucket, it is customary to excavate an incline downward from the mouth of the well, equal in length to the depth of the water table, and it is along such a trench that man and beast plod long, weary hours each day. When a bulging and leaking skin has been lifted slightly above the welltop, it is pulled over and lowered into a catchment basin connected with the local irrigation system.

THE CARAVANS

492 438 439 Many Bedouins, not engaged in agriculture or herding, find occupation in the camel transport system of the Hadhramaut. A man

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

usually owns one or two dromedaries and with these joins other tribal associates in moving cargo both to and from the coast. Flour, sugar, rice, tea, cloth, timber, and dates, in which the country is not self-sufficient, are brought to the Hadhramaut from distant lands

FIG. 23—The Sultan of Qishn, accompanied by three Bedouin councilors, is attired in a turban and wears a curved dagger in his belt. Mr. W. H. Ingrams is at the extreme right. Note the Bedouins' well formed features and general attire, especially the sarong, which has been introduced by Hadhrami emigrants returning from the Malay States.

by sailing dhows and tramp steamers. A large part of the cargo, together with locally produced dried fish and fish oil, is distributed by caravan to the interior. Because exports—chiefly skins—are meager, the caravans must make their return journey empty or, at best, only lightly laden. The balance of exchange necessary to provide the excess imports is obtained from the remittances of thousands who have emigrated and are now living abroad, chiefly in the Malay States and along the east coast of Africa.

There are two methods of contracting for the services of a caravan and its many owners, each of whom insists on feeding, caring for, packing, and driving his own beast of burden—either by the day or for a fixed sum between certain points along a prescribed route. The latter plan is preferable, since it precludes any possible benefit to the camel owner from slow travel; but even with an incentive to progress he hesitates to push his animals more than 12 miles a day, and he is skilled in the fabrication of excuses. The men argue at great length about their respective loads before the morning start. A favorite maneuver is to put a slow camel at the head of the line. The inexperienced traveler may also be sidetracked by tales that no

As with the Arab Legion, the primary functions of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion are to assist in the keeping of law and order and the propagation of the ideas and policy of Government by peaceful means whenever its members come in contact with the tribes and Bedouin in the interior. For these reasons its man-power is drawn from far and wide, but because of the prevailing illiteracy of the Bedouin population the senior officers are provided on secondment from the Arab Legion, and considerable help and supervision is given by a British Army officer, who is attached to the staff of the British Resident Adviser (the senior British civil officer at Mukalla) as Military Assistant. In its nine years of existence the H.B.L. has amply fulfilled expectations, and by the end of this year its numbers should reach 9 officers and 330 other ranks, while the whole cost will not exceed £29,000.

Competition to be enlisted is keen, and the authorities can hand-pick their recruits, preferring those whose families have a certain standing in their tribes, thereby giving the future soldier a measure of authority to speak in and for his tribe. The clearest method of describing the day-to-day life of the Legion is to trace the course of the new recruit from time of entry to date of discharge. The individual who presents himself at the headquarters in Mukalla for enlistment will be somewhat uncouth in appearance, rather short in stature, and spare in build. Experts in the local physiognomy and dress may be able to tell from which tribe he comes, as there are small but traceable differences between each. His dress will consist of a loincloth or short *futa*, black or dark blue, into which is thrust a *jambiyah*, a short knife in a curved scabbard. His hair will be long, kept in place with a twist of cloth, and both hair and short beard will be plentifully oiled; his body may be covered with indigo. Many of the Bedouin are good-looking in a small-featured, feminine way, which is emphasized by their bobbed-length hair. Some have tribal scars on their faces, and most wear amulets round their necks and bracelets above their elbows, both made from silver and set with cornelian. He is unlikely to bring his rifle with him, although he may well own one, probably of the antiquated French make and possibly dating as far back as 1870.

When transformed into a private in the H.B.L. he will retain his long hair and silver ornaments, but will be quite different otherwise. Over shorts he wears a khaki *qamīs*, a calf-length one-piece garment with a shirt top. Round his waist is a leather ammunition belt, under which he wears, on ceremonial occasions, a broad red webbing sash with long ends. On his head is a khaki *kafiyah* with black head-rope, or *'iqāl*, and the silver badge of the H.B.L. in front. A *kafiyah* is seldom worn in the Hadhramaut, and the soldier off duty is prone to twist and wind it turban-wise round his head.

On being accepted the recruit swears to be loyal and faithful to H.M. King George, his heirs and successors, and to obey the orders of all officers set over him. He also agrees to abide by H.B.L. standing orders, the Army Act of his force, but does not sign on for any specified period and is free to leave at three months' notice. Now comes the barrack square, weapon training, guard procedure, and drill. At the end of the first month he receives 22 rupees (33s.), the pay of a private soldier. This,

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

and we were in country with which there had been practically no contact It must really have been alarming to the Badawin: a noisy party in lorries which they had not seen before, and ourselves in cars, shouting directions to each other in the night and firing Verey lights to show each other the way; but the Badawin materialized out of the darkness, most surprisingly without rifles, directed us time and again on our way, and pushed our cars out of the sand.

After Thukmein, which we left about half-past eleven, we had no great difficulty in moving on as the moon was up. We drove on for some hours and then stopped to let the rest of the party come up. It was bitterly cold and the keen wind cut through us as we huddled together trying to sleep on the sand, but we did sleep and woke to a marvellous dawn. The sunset of the night before, the brilliant moon, and the sunrise are three enduring memories of that night.

The four flat-topped hills of Al 'Abr lay about 10 miles ahead of us, and although only one of the lorries had come on, the other having had one of its many breakdowns, we decided to go on. It was marvellous hard sand on which a speed of fifty was easy and we had quickly left the lorry behind. We made our way into the wadi bed, myself acting as guide as I was the only one who knew the country even from the air. There were one or two Bureiki Sheikhs about with camels, and rather reluctantly they told us that the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun were also there with the camels. A few minutes' driving up the hard wadi brought us to the ruins of the fort, said by the Al 'Abdulla bin 'Aun to have been built by them.

The dozen or so Badawin round the well looked extremely surprised when the car drew up. I suppose they were hardly awake, as the morning was still chilly and they were all wearing their sheepskin coats. A few Bureiki Sheikhs came down and bade us welcome. All the rest of the Badawin claimed to belong to every tribe except the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun. Some said they were Sheikhs, some claimed to be Daham, a Yemeni tribe, and some Nahd, but there were a good many shifty looks and in the course of the morning we sorted out nine who had given themselves away and who finally admitted to belonging to this raiding section. There are only forty-three males all told of the 'Abdulla bin 'Aun, but from the amount of trouble they had given in the past it was well worth getting them under control. They have no houses or settled habitation and are about the only people of the Hadhramaut who have goatskin tents. They are part of the Al Hatim, but Bin Mulhi, their chief, says he has no control over them and the Sei'ar themselves were delighted when we took hostages from them and put in a garrison, whose function is to protect the travellers and not to interfere in other ways.

Presently the lorries came up and I installed the wireless and settled the garrison into temporary quarters. There was nothing at Al 'Abr except the ruined fort of which only one wall still stood, a small stone *murabba'a*, one of the dark cube-shaped shelters used by travellers all over the Hadhramaut, and a hut built of branches of trees and grass of which there was a great profusion. There was also a new *weli's* tomb decorated with ibex horns, and one of the Bureiki Sheikhs took us there and slapping the tomb addressed its lately canonised occupant and introduced us. We put the garrison into the

18:Inguzams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

lunch, also in true Arabian Nights' style, as we had lamb stuffed with pistachio nuts, almonds, and raisins, and many other good things, we started off for a round of afternoon calls. Many old friends had come to see us and all wanted us to visit them. However we managed to weed them down to four and thought we would take the farthest first, so we went off through the date palms to Robat where we had an enormous tea, and then came back through Khoreiba, where we had two more and a fourth, just after sunset, at Ar Rashid. Then we staggered back for dinner to Masna'a, Mr. Figgis rather under the weather and wondering how he was going to cope with Hadhrami hospitality after the more modest repasts of Northern Nigeria.

My wife re-visited Du'an at the beginning of 1937, journeying up the well-known caravan road from Mukalla. She travelled with two Seiyids of the Mihdhar family returning to their homes after a long absence, and they took seven days on donkeys from the coast to Wadi Du'an. The nights were spent in the *marahha'at* and towards sunset each evening they raced with an old shepherd taking a flock of Somaliland sheep over the *jols* to Du'an, for he was determined that his sheep should sleep in the stone hut and the Seiyids were equally determined that my wife and they should. There was always a long midday halt for about eleven o'clock the Seiyids felt they needed their ginger coffee, and it was after noon before the large meal of rice and dried fish was ready.

Except for the preparation of two large meals a day everything was very simple. The Seiyids each had a folding iron camp bed and the Badawin, two of whom acted as chief cook and butler-valet, usually slept curled up underneath the beds. The Seiyids had put on clean clothes at the beginning of the journey, and these they wore night and day until they reached the top of the *'aqaba* leading to Du'an, when they unpacked their boxes and put on new clothes to arrive in. Crowds quickly came from their homes to meet them, and from the Ba Surra's house to meet my wife. She spent two nights with the ladies in Masna'a, who were very anxious to know all about Miss Stark, and if she had quite recovered from the illness that attacked her in Du'an. My wife also visited Robat and Khoreiba, and had tea in one house and spent the night in another house in which a crowd of self-invited guests gathered after dinner to hear the wireless, at that time the only set in the wadi. The reception was not too good, but they heard Big Ben and switched from Egypt to Rome, from Palestine to Germany, and back to London.

With the usual Du'an hospitality she was given two breakfasts in different houses, visited many women, and returned to Masna'a for a gay evening party with drums and dancing in the harem. She left Masna'a for Quweira, where she stayed with the Mihdhar family, whose stronghold it is. This clan of Seiyids is very large but firmly united under its chief, Seiyid Mustafa, a very old man who was amazingly ignorant of any matters outside his valley and had never before descended to shaking hands with a European woman. He had evidently seen pictures of them however for he frankly expressed his approval of my wife's dress, which had long sleeves and was not cut short above the knees as he had imagined it would be. She quite lost count of the number of houses she visited in Quweira, and in all of which she was taken straight up to see the women. It is a curiosity of Du'an that all the women dress

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

IT IS A CURIOSITY OF DU'AN THAT ALL WOMEN DRESS

291 alike in long black dresses with coloured patches inserted in front and orange
301 scarves over their heads. They are, too, the only women who affect nose rings similar to those usually worn on the fingers. Very few of them have ever left their valley, but many of them bemoaned the absence of husbands who frequently left them for years at a time.

179 The Seiyids lent her a magnificent white donkey to go on to Sif where we had stayed before, and the following day she was met by a friend and a car just before reaching Meshhed. Thence she rejoined me in Seiyun.

From Du'an Mr. Figgis and I flew across to 'Azzan over the upper reaches of the Wadi Hajr, which like the Wadi Maseila has perennial water nearly all its length. I had been to 'Azzan before, but this visit was very short, as the machine crashed on the landing-ground. It was a very artistic crash, and in Air Force parlance a complete write-off. Luckily none of the three of us in the machine were in the least hurt and the crash was far more alarming for Mr. Figgis and his pilot still up above, as it was some time before we found a comfortable way of climbing out of the ruins. I hope that in every crash I have I shall have as skilful a pilot as on that occasion. The crash was due to misguided zeal of the locals, for it was their own home-made landing-ground and they had raked up all the stones off the ground into a ridge along its edge, and it was this we hit as we landed. As ours was the machine with the wireless in it we swapped over into the other, which had landed safely, and flew back to Mukalla to organize assistance.

321 'Azzan is the capital of the Balhaf Sultan and is most picturesquely situated
609 on a citadel rock by the side of the wadi. I was given a great reception on my
911 first visit there with the firing of rifles and war whooping, which is much more a feature of welcomes in the Western Aden Protectorate than in the Eastern. As we walked from the landing-ground to the village the Artillery, a fine old bronze gun marked "A. Wilson. Cossipore. 1841," was brought into play. Our path led below it and it was really rather alarming, because with each discharge a shower of burning shirts and other old clothes, which had been used as wadding, was fired over us.

411 'Azzan is the only place where I have seen spears surviving, though my wife
435 saw them in the Wadi 'Amd. One or two aged warriors came out with spears which they shook in martial fashion, threw into the air and caught again. Quite a number of old weapons survive in the Hadhramaut, for my wife also saw crossbows in the Wadi 'Amd and there are more of the old matchlocks in the country, some of them still in use, than in any other part of the Protectorate. The Hadhramaut seems to have turned over to modern weapons much more recently than the Western Protectorate, for most of the rifles, modern weapons, have wooden butts covered with goatskin fastened over them to take the recoil, a precaution far more necessary with matchlocks. It is worth recording perhaps that there is a heavy slump in the price of firearms. The ordinary Badawin rifle can be bought for as little as eight dollars with some ammunition thrown in, and the most modern rifles of continental manufacture, which eighteen months ago fetched an easy six hundred or more dollars when brought in from the Yemen, are now not bought at all and offers have been made of them for as little as fifty dollars.

619 The atmosphere of the Balhaf court is completely tribal; much more like
162

21: Thomas 7-8 (no date) 1932. MMI Hadhramaut MM2

with the
191 exception of the Mahra all these tribes speak Arabic and Arabic alone, and yet some are types
141 clearly distinguishable from the northern Arab, and indeed those I measured are all brachycephals. The very word "Arab" is used in the desert to denote "people" instead of having the particular racial connotation which we give to it. More than once I have been asked "From what Arabs are you?" by a native, who was conscious that I was of a different race from himself.

144 Whether these Arabic-speaking South Arabians are indigenous or come from elsewhere is a question for anthropologists. In this connection, the Preface to Wyman Bury's book *Land of Uz* is of interest. That Preface, written by Maj.-Gen. Maitland who was British Resident at Aden at the beginning of the present century, declares the writer's opinion as follows:—

> "The people of Arabia belong to two distinct and apparently quite different races. The common idea of the Arab type is tall bearded men with clean-cut, hawk-like faces. The Arabs of South Arabia are smaller, darker, coarser featured and nearly beardless. All authorities agree that the Southern Arabs are nearly related by origin to the Abyssinian. Yet strange to say it is the Egypto-African race who are the original and 'pure' Arabs, while the stately Semitic of the North is *Mustareb* . . . one who is Arab by adoption and residence, rather than by descent."

101 But I am concerned here with a group of non-Arabic speaking tribes more distant in habit
361 of life still from the familiar Arab, tribes of whom neither Burton nor Maitland could have had any personal knowledge, tribes whose members have seldom made the pilgrimage to Mecca, tribes for the most part settled in the Qara and Al Qamr mountains of the Central South
619 where they breed cows and gather frankincense. To the list given in my previous paper, viz., Qara, Mahra, Shahara, Bautḥara and Harasis should be added Barahama, Bil Haf, Afar, and Bit Istait (Bait ash Shaikh). Except for those elements of the Mahra that are nomadic, and for the nomadic Harasis and Afar and the fishing tribe of Bautḥara, the remainder form a *bloc* of settled mountain society with a common and a unique culture.

191 The four languages of this group have been mentioned in the paper under reference. Of the additional tribes the Afar speak a language which is a variant of Mahri, called Aforit, and is said to be the same as that spoken by the Harasis. The Bait ash Shaikh (Inaakht) use the Shahara tongue and are thought to be collateral with the Shahara and once to have co-inhabited the great port, now a heap of ruins, of Rubat (Ariyot). Balhaf, a rather nondescript tribe, owes allegiance to no faction but is Mahri in speech.

DRESS AND DYE CUSTOMS.

● 291 The men wear a single sheet wound round to form a skirt short to the knees and then brought diagonally across their bodies and thrown over one shoulder; women a single loose-falling black gown usually green with age and black muslin head-wrap which falls about
301 shoulders and neck; they are mostly unveiled. The use of indigo for smearing their bodies
302 and impregnating their clothes is common to both sexes. It gives their faces a purple hue.
177 There is a local dye from a tree called *hurair*, but much of the indigo comes from India.

1 [Bait Kathir, Mahra, Manahil, Awamir, Sa'ar and Mashai -- Analyst]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Sayyid ʿAluwī el-ʿAṭṭās had come to Makalla from Java some months previously, with the object of importing motor-cars and other commodities, through the intermediary of his family living there. He would have to visit the interior shortly, so what could be more obvious than that we should try to establish a community of interests, and join forces for the journey? Sayyid ʿAluwī was born in Java and had spent some years in Cairo for his education. He had seen something of England and France, and it looked as if he had grown out of touch with the stern frugal life of the land of his fathers. We have to thank him for the introduction to his relatives at Ḥurēḍa, from whom we had a support and sympathy exceeding our most sanguine expectations.

1. BAZAAR LIFE.

Well contented with the favourable prospects which were opening out before us, we sauntered through the main street, which runs like a human river along the sea front, the whole length of the town from West to East. One sees representatives of almost all the tribes of the interior gathered here in groups along the rows of booths. Most of them are dark-brown men, with the naked upper part of their bodies, as well as their faces and arms, smeared with indigo. They are bare-headed and barefoot and have only a short, but thickly rolled loin-cloth round their waists; their unkempt, half-long, jet-black, curly hair is tied up into a round knot at the back of the head, or held in place by a plaited leathern band or greased rag wound round the head. They have had to give up their inseparable guns and cartridge-belts to the watchman at the gates of the town and, consequently, feel unclothed and unsafe. Their hair shines with *samn*[1]; the upper part of their bodies is also rubbed with it, over the layer of indigo, and a strong odour of indigo and *samn* hangs about them.

On the way back from the tongue of land we pass the

[1] *Samn* (سمن) is melted butter of the milk of sheep, goats or cows.

CHAPTER III.

FROM MAKALLA TO WĀDĪ DŌ'AN.

1. A DIFFICULT START.

The outfitting of the caravan lasted several days. The Vizier and his officials showed great interest, and during our visit to Sayyid Abū Bakr, much necessary information and advice was given us by him. Then we also made acquaintance with the leader of our caravan, who appeared to have the original and very modern honorary name of Mautor [1], because he can run the distance from Wādī Dō'an to Makalla in two days and nights, when urgent dispatches have to be carried for the Government. He has the full confidence of the Vizier and declares in a gentle voice and calling the while upon Allah that he will risk his life for us and that, with Allah's help, he will deliver us and our belongings safe and sound to Bā Ṣūrra, the Governor of Wādī Dō'an. Mautor is small and slight, his curly, greasy, black hair is held together round his head by a narrow plaited leather band. He wears a little cord round his neck from which hangs a silver ring set with a round, brownish coloured stone, which has the shape and measurements of a thumb nail. A short dark-blue loin-cloth, in which is stuck the sheath of a dagger (*djambīya*), is his only garment. We declare our trust in Mautor's leadership and protection, and the agreement is sealed with a hand-clasp. Provision will be made for camels fit for the mountains, which in Dō'an will have to be exchanged for others suitable for the plains. We ourselves shall ride on donkeys as being less tiring and more comfortable if one has to dismount frequently to survey the route, to take photographs, and to collect plants and insects. We have also to provide food for the Bedouins who

[1] "Mautor" is the Bedouin pronunciation of "motor".

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142

Sayyid el-Bārr with some of his children and servants.

137

p 64 (D) Sun and shade in the palm-groves of Wādī Dō'an.

[facing p 74]

The authors as the guests of Sayyid Muṣṭafā bin Aḥmad Āl el-Miḥḍār.

291

The mosque of the Āl el-Miḥḍār in Huwēbiya, Wādī Dō'an.

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See pages 69 and 71.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

he tries to mount it unnoticed. We have seen, however, and call out to him to get off, because we have just dismounted out of pity for the animal. His Yāfiᶜ comrade, who is walking in front of me, calls to him *not* to obey. I angrily bid him be silent, with the remark that I have paid for the donkeys and that, consequently, the command over them lies with me. At his insolent reply: "Hold your tongue!", he gets without further ado a box on his ears. He turns in fury, his rifle clenched in his hands.

"Shall I let myself be struck by you?"

"You shall obey me, you are under my command."

ᶜAbdallāh sulkily vanishes into the rear-guard, while we all keep our eyes on his rifle. His comrade comes to me before long to ask forgiveness for him. "Do not be angry with him, he is a little mad." Who can be angry for long with these rough children of nature? Towards evening, when the heat is over and thirst and fatigue no longer torment, both Yāfiᶜ soldiers get their so much desired remuneration and part with the two *Naṣrānīs* as the best of friends.

Close to Hadjarēn we passed a mosque at a saint's grave, and all sought the cool shadow of this place, forbidden to unbelievers. We were allowed to stand for a breathing-space in the porch. There is an earthenware jar full of water in the building, but we may not go inside, so our Makalla soldiers fetch water for us. A few peasant women who are passing by also come for the sake of the shelter. Their wide, dark-blue, rough, cotton garments leave their faces uncovered. However, as soon as they see strangers, they draw their head-cloths over their faces. They wear straw hats, with pointed crowns and wide brims, as a protection against the sun.

3. AN UNFORGETTABLE RECEPTION IN HADJARĒN.

From here the way mounts towards the foot of the mountain close up against which lies Hadjarēn. A steep, paved, zigzag path leads at last to the gate of this town, which by

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-S (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

We march on for hours under a gorgeous heaven of stars. The great promontory towards which we are setting our course is Djebel Ghumdān. Only when we have passed it do we see the lights of Ḥurēḍa. The nearer we approach the more messengers with lamps, and people filled with curiosity come out to meet us. Youth especially is well in evidence, handsome, frank youngsters, who accompany us pushing each other aside and talking busily. Quite soon the boys try to put a few questions in Malay. When the answers come also in that language, questions follow thick upon each other, and these wordly-wise youths, born in Java and sent here to get a real Arabian education, become objects of admiration and envy to their fellows.

"Do you find it pleasant here?"

"No, not at all. It is much finer in Java. This is a dreadful country of poverty, heat and boredom."

They are home-sick for Java, where their parents are and where they would like to return at once.

We dismount at the entrance to Ḥurēḍa, which is unwalled, for we see, by the light of many gasoline lamps, the white figures of the notabilities of the town awaiting us. The Governor of el-Meshhed comes forward as spokesman. He says that the people of Ḥurēḍa are grateful for, and feel themselves honoured by, the first official Dutch visit. It is not so long ago that foreigners were denied entrance to Ḥurēḍa, but now opinion has become much more modern. In the whole of Ḥaḍramaut there is sympathy for Holland and gratitude to that country for the hospitality and good treatment enjoyed by the Ḥaḍramīs in the lands under her rule. Hope is expressed that an enduring contact between Ḥaḍramaut and Holland may spring from this visit.

The many lanterns light up fantastically this unusual spectacle on the outskirts of Ḥurēḍa, where the first Europeans, weary and dirty, with limbs stiff from long riding, make their entry into the little town, hand in hand with its notables in their clean, white garments. The Governor has solemnly taken

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

The hot air penetrates to the furthest and highest parts of the cave and does not cool down much there. In the whole region of Ḥaḍramaut, after the broken mountainous strata of the coast, we saw no further trace of volcanism.

When our eyes had grown accustomed once more to the light and we had had a drink, we descended again into the wādī. The sun shone right into it and it was suffocatingly hot, nor could we escape from the heat until we reached Qabr Hūd, so we walked as fast as we could and in two hours arrived at the well at the beginning of the wādī. Our escort were unable to keep up with us, but two young Minhālī Bedouins, with the slender suppleness and strength of the ibex, offered their society and were entertaining companions. We were thoroughly exhausted by the time we got to the well, but they were absolutely fresh. They drew water for us and, afterwards, drank themselves but once. We drank the water — warm, but clear — again and again, and had it poured over our backs and chests, so getting a long needed bath. One of the two spoke Swahili; he had spent five years in Nairobi where he had had a shop and had saved 600 *riyāls*. Now he was the happy possessor of ten camels and a young wife. The other was still unable to marry, as the marriage portion here is from 150 to 200 *riyāls* and, for the moment, he had not this amount. He would like us to take him abroad, there to try his luck as his comrade had done. The Minhālīs wear necklaces of plaited leathern straps and red and white coral, and round their waists, under the cartridge-belt, I saw similar, very artistic bands. They are bare-headed, with a strap round their greasy hair, which is waved and worn half-length, and they wear small loin-cloths over which the cartridge-belt is buckled. Many of them have still muzzle-loading guns. It is obvious from their primitive appearance that the lands where they rove lie along the southern border of the Rubʿ el-Khālī, the extreme northern limit of Ḥaḍramaut.

In the house in the ravine of Qabr Hūd it was also unbearably hot, the indoor temperature reaching from 40° to

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

tern bank of the wādī. The fields are bone-dry and trimly cultivated, rain being expected this month. One substantial downpour of rain or a good inundation caused by rain elsewhere is said to be enough for this loam soil, which holds water for so long. Great pains have been taken over the irrigation system; the dams, made of piled-up stones and plastered with an inner lining of mud, suffer much from the *sēls*. Groups of inquisitive people come running towards us out of the villages and ask all sorts of questions of our escort. A grey-headed village-chief turns to us with the inquiry how to put an end to the repeatedly recurring destruction of the stone dykes through the *sēl*. We answer that it would probably suffice if they were to use lime as cement for the boulders: the initial cost of this would be considerable, but it would be a great economy in the long run.

All the women of this district are veiled, even the poor women working in the fields. When working in the sun they wear straw hats with very wide brims. They are not so frightened of us as women were elsewhere and are quite ready for a chat or even to be photographed. The young girls, at the request of the men, climb like cats right up to the crowns of the palm-trees, to pick the ripe fruit from the bunches of dates. Their wide black garments hang untidily about them, the only pretty thing in their dress is the broad girdle ornamented with large and small silver buttons, which encircles the waist. An attempt to buy one of these fails, as the women are all too modest to think of selling a part of their clothing. Many children run all over the place with little bows made of the rib of a palm-leaf, and sharp-pointed arrows of the same, with which they try to kill the few birds that alight on the ripening fruit. Occasionally, as we pass, some relative of one of our escort will present us with a handful of the first really ripe dates.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

yet afford to offer pensionable service. Conditions of employment for a qualified teacher are therefore inferior to those obtainable, even in teaching, in the Colony. 875

Principal Events

The greatest change in the period under review was the closing down in March, 1952, of the Aden Protectorate College for the sons of Chiefs, a boarding school of primary standard which has been running for 17 years in the Colony. The College served a useful purpose and gained a high reputation in its time but was too small to be run economically. It has now been superseded by the primary schools in the various districts of the Western Protectorate. 873

Work on an intermediate boarding school at Zinjibar in the Western Protectorate began about the same time. The new intermediate school, which will take another three years to complete, forms a vital link between the primary schools and the Aden and Technical Colleges.

HEALTH

General

Protectorate health statistics are not yet available, though in places such as Tarim recent local studies show an infantile mortality rate of 439 per 1,000 live births, a rate rather greater than those previously reported for Mukalla and parts of the Western Protectorate. 165

Diseases

Important causes of sickness in the population are malaria, the dysenteries, ulcers, trachoma and conjunctivitis. Less obtrusive are pulmonary tuberculosis, bilharzia of both urinary and intestinal types, guineaworm (in patchy distribution), leprosy, dermal leishmaniasis and the common venereal diseases with, in places, what appears to be either yaws or bejel. In areas where night-soil is used as manure for salad vegetables round-worm infection is common. Where, as in the Hadhramaut towns, rigid purdah still obtains, ostemalacia, obstructed labour and puerperal fever are of relatively frequent occurrence. Through failure of the capricious rainfall or floods in the winter months, famine and its associated subnutrition are an ever present threat. In certain Western States the consumption of qat (*Catha edulis*) is a cause of subnutrition and affections of the digestive tract. 164 [291]

Important causes of death in both young and adults are malaria and the dysenteries, and in adults pulmonary tuberculosis.

Prevention and treatment are provided by mobile health units, static health units (previously called dispensaries) and hospitals. Prevention is furthered by lectures, demonstrations and film shows to teachers and local administrators, and by emphasis in the training of subordinate technical staff on the preventive aspects of medicine, more particularly cleanliness, insect control, balanced feeding and the values of local foodstuffs. A series of propaganda leaflets has been planned and the first one—on malaria—issued to the public. An effort is being made among communities remote from hospitals and health units to market at controlled prices insecticides, malarial remedies and sulphamezathine in small containers with instructions in Arabic. 743 744

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2

a monotonous chant. The dance is usually executed by two persons, each dancing by himself, who, while turning all the time, alternately approach and withdraw from the orchestra, but always keep at the same distance from each other; when the first two are exhausted their places are taken by two others, and so on for many hours at a stretch.

The status of women in the Hadhramaut appears to be superior to that in many Mussulman countries. The wife lives in the same part of the house as her husband, but she receives her visitors in her own rooms. Divorce is very rare, the repudiation of a wife without very good cause being held in high contempt; if an individual did so repudiate his wife he would certainly fail to obtain another wife of the same social scale. Polygamy is very uncommon; there are no eunuchs; in the event of the husband taking another wife, the first quits his roof immediately and returns to her parents. Amongst the Bedouins of the Hadhramaut polygamy is absolutely unknown. If a man definitively leaves his town to seek his fortune elsewhere, the wife may, and usually does, refuse to follow him. In this contingency it is considered legitimate for him to take another wife, and he is not expected to continue to support the first.

The marriage dowry is of a double character; there is, first of all, a legal tariff varying from 20 to 2½ florins according to the social status of the fiancée; and secondly, there is the nuptial gift, the amount of which varies according to her personal qualities: the first may be reclaimed in the case of a dissolution of marriage, the latter not.

In the Hadhramaut the poor and the rich dress much alike, the quality of the material, the jewels worn, and the arms carried being the only indications of status. The clothes worn by the townsmen resemble, in many respects, those of most orientals. Sandals with thin shoes, but no stockings, are worn; when out of doors a kind of plaid (*rādi*), made locally, about seven yards long and a little short of a yard wide, is invariably carried or thrown over the shoulders. The head is shaven.

The garments of the tribesmen are similar in the main to those of the townsmen, except that they are shorter, are worn somewhat differently, and the material is usually woven in diamond 'check'; the *jubbah*, or robe, is replaced by a shorter buttoned jacket; and the tribesmen carry their arms, a straight sword, a two-edged poniard, &c. The *rādi* is also worn. The hair is grown long and falls over the shoulders, and the head is covered

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM24

291 either with a plain piece of stuff (*dismāl*) worn turban-like, or with a fringed head-cloth (*jibāl*) falling over the shoulders. The 302 Bedouins wear the same type of costume as the other members of their race, but of poorer material; they rarely wear sandals, and have their bodies bare above the waistband and below the knees.

The garments of the women are very similar to those of the men, and, excepting in small particulars, resemble the dress in other districts of Arabia. They ordinarily wear, not sandals, but boots of a yellow or red colour; they dress their hair in short tresses to the number of from 50 to 60, and married women, in addition, have a fringe over the forehead. The better classes go veiled, but the lower classes cover the head with a form of kerchief (*nuqbah*) which they can use as a veil to cover the forehead and mouth, if need be. Young girls do not cover the face.

Industries and Agriculture

433 Of great industries there are naturally none in the Hadhramaut. A small amount of weaving is carried on in the houses, especially at Terīm, but the quantity is decreasing owing to the importation of stuffs from abroad. Formerly the cultivation and preparation of indigo for the dyeing of locally woven stuffs were carried on to a considerable extent, but that industry too has greatly declined except in the more remote districts of the interior. Boat-building, fishing, and the salting of fish are the occupations of many along the littoral. It has been remarked that the inhabitants of the Hadhramaut mountains become the most intrepid sailors; not only the Arabs of Shiheir and Makalla, but also those of the mountain regions show an innate disposition for navigation, even those who may never have seen a boat before.

241 For the most part the land in the settled centres is in the hands of the Seyyids or of other influential members of a tribe. The chief agricultural products are wheat, maize, millet, indigo, tobacco, sesame, dates, and coco-nuts, the latter grown only on the littoral. Cotton is cultivated here and there, but in insufficient quantities to supply the needs of the district; lucerne is much grown for fodder. A kind of tobacco, known as Humuni, is grown round Ghail Ba Wazīr and has a great local reputation. There are plantations of *ithl* (tamarisk) and *'elb*, two kinds of wood suitable for making utensils and for building purposes. The seasons are determined by the stars. Irrigation is almost entirely artificial; neither

[805]